2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XLIV

A WOMAN, LOSING HER TWELVE SWEETHEARTS, AT LAST MARRIES A METAMORPHOSED BEAR

In the year 1874, when Saghalien was exchanged by Japan with Russia for the Kurile Islands, some of the native Ainu residing there were brought down to Hokkaidō and placed at Tsuishikari, not far from Sapporo. They all returned to their old northern homes some years later. Although they are true Saghalien people, those now left of them, with their children, are called Hokkaidō Ainu. When I first took up the study of the Ainu, it was with these that I began. The following very interesting legend is one of those recited by a member of this same Saghalien tribe. It is a woman's legend and is supposed to be recited by the spirit of one of the gentle sex who has passed over.

"I was a woman. In my village there lived twelve fine young men, six at the upper and six at the lower end thereof.*

"These young men went away every year and caught many seals, so I lived very well and never lacked food. They gave me an abundance to eat. Being grateful for this, I yearly made for them in return twelve fibre garments, six for each company. I also provided them with vegetable food.

"One day I heard the birds talking together, and as I knew the bird language, I understood what they were saying. They said that the young men had gone

*Six is the Ainu perfect number.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

fore, I am killed by you, my young brother will come and avenge my death, and then you will live no longer. So be careful."

"I then made a slash at the evil creature; he returned the blow and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long time or a short one, I am unable to to say. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me striking hither and thither, vehemently, with the sword. With my left hand I had laid hold on the grass and was tearing it up by the roots. Any way, when I came to myself, I found myself wondering who Samatuye could be and why he was so called. I thought that name was given to frighten me, perhaps. But, I said to myself, 'I must certainly go off and pay him a visit at his own home, for unless I do so I shall be laughed at when I return to my village, and feel humiliated.' I therefore searched about till I found the track by which this great army had come. I got on the path and passed through many villages, great and small. For three days and three nights, six in all, did I travel along till I arrived at the seashore.*

"Here I saw a very high mountain whose summit reached to the skies and on the top of which there stood a most beautiful house. It was encircled above with a great cloud as of fog. I came down from above and landed near it. Then, walking carefully and without noise, I came to the door, where I stood peeping in and listening. I saw something which looked like a little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fireplace, staring into the embers; and there was also what appeared to me to be a very little woman sitting on the left hand side of the hearth. The beauty of this little woman equalled that of my younger sister. Now the man spoke, saying,

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*Six being the perfect number in Ainu, "six days in all" means "for a very long time."

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are, in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) permanently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies Sachalinensis*, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura inau. The other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.

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An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*, is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made of willow.

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Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue* (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*) has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eighteen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings. Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or merely a black rag tied round the head.

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The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*[1] (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and Alnus hirsuta (*kene-ni*). The Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit Elder of the World.

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In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

[1] See footnote, p. 30.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

(*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *susa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.